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ABSTRACT

Main changes in time utilization by rural population of the U.S.S.R. resulting from the socialist reconstruction of agriculture and rural social development were analyzed. Time expenditures of ruralites on different activities in the 1960s and 1970s were compared to those in the 1920s and 1930s. The following indicators were analyzed: (1) total work load on a rural inhabitant, dynamics in work load differentiation among men and women, work distribution between public sector, private economy and housework, seasonal character of the rural people's work load; (2) amount of free time and its dynamics; and (3) free time structure of rural people in comparison to urbanites. The instrument and data source was the time budget. It was found that the reduction of overall work load of the rural worker was going on concurrently with the increase of work expenditures in the public production sphere. The process of redistribution of a part of the work load from women to men had not so far led to their levelling off in work duration. To date rural-urban differentiation by amount of free time and work load persisted. Taking into consideration work expenditures in private economy and housekeeping, the rural worker worked on the average of 1 to 1.5 hours more a day than the urban worker. It was concluded that there was a necessity to secure an integrated character in time budget studies in order to obtain a complete picture of factors determining differences in time utilization. (Author/NQ)

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Abstract

Main changes in time utilization by rural population of the U.S.S.R. resulted from the socialist reconstruction of agriculture and rural social development are analyzed. The conclusion about lesser work loading on the rural worker, higher amount of free time and about structural changes in them are made on the basis of the 60s-70s data compared to those of the 20s-30s. The instrument and data source was time budget.

It is shown that the reduction of overall work loading on the rural worker was going on concurrently with the increase of work expenditures in public production sphere. The process of redistribution of a part of work loading from women to men has not so far led to their levelling off in work duration. To date rural-urban differentiation by free time amount and working loading persists: taking into consideration work expenditures in private economy and house keeping the rural worker works on the average 1-1.5 hour more a day than urban worker.

A conclusion has been made about the necessity to secure in time budget studies an integrated character in order to obtain a complete picture of factors determining differences in time utilization. The most prominent time budget studies of the rural population of the U.S.S.R. are reviewed.

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Introduction

Gradual levelling off of rural-urban differences is one of the vital tasks being solved by the socialist society. These differences are manifested in living standards and styles, nature of work, skills of manpower. Their specific manifestation is also different duration of certain activities. On the one hand, it is objectively determined by contemporary level of productive forces and nature of productive relations of the society; on the other, since these differences impede rural social development, they must be gradually overcome. For example, exceeding work loading of rural population in labour deficient regions is often rated by them as the main negative rural feature and thereby becomes a drive for the most active part of rural population to move away from farm (Ryvkina, 1975). Socialist-reconstruction of the countryside in our country has for ever done away with agrarian overpopulation, poverty and illiteracy of peasantry; at present all farm branches are experiencing scientific-technological revolution. On the basis of industrialization of agriculture and urbanization of living conditions the importance of private economy falls, population of small outdated settlements is consolidated in large communities with a fairly wide network of shopping, eating, medical, consumer and cultural facilities.

The socialist reconstruction of agriculture and rural social development have led to the reduction in working loading of rural population, to increase in their free time amount, levelling off of urban and rural time budgets. These processes can be judged of by changed time expenditures of ruralites on different activities in the 60s-70s compared to the 20s-30s. The instrument and data source of the comparison was time budget which reflects all human activities and characteristics of their sequence and duration.

It is possible to identify three main groups of needs

at whose satisfaction human activity is aimed: physical-household (satisfied through work in public and private sectors and in house keeping), physiological (sleep, eating, personal care, medical care) and needs for all-round spiritual and physical developing (learning, consumption of information, creative activity, sports, entertainments). Changes in time expenditures on these groups of needs occur rather slowly and, therefore, their analysis involves comparison of data for rather long time periods.

Since 1923 when on the initiative of the Academician S. G. Strumilin the Central Statistical Body of the U.S.S.R. surveyed time budgets of individual peasants of the Voronezh province (Strumilin, 1924) onward a series of time budget studies of rural population have been conducted in our country. We shall mention the most outstanding of them. In 1934 the Central Statistical Body of the U.S.S.R. made a survey of the time budgets of collective farmers in 9 provinces (Uriashson and Heinman, eds., 1935). In the summer of 1963 the Central Statistical Body of the R.S.F.S.R. surveyed time budgets of manual and nonmanual workers of state and collective farms in the Rostov, Gorky and Sverdlovsk provinces (Artiomov et al., 1967). In 1964-1966 through the efforts of different organizations and university departments time budgets were derived from rural dwellers of the Stavropol Krai, Moscow and Vinnitsa provinces (Baikova et al., 1965) as well as Mari A.S.S.R. (Bolgov and Smolentsev, 1970). In 1969 the CEMI of the U.S.S.R. jointly with the CSB of the R.S.F.S.R. conducted a survey of the time budgets of collective farmers of the Krasnodar Krai (Baranov, ed., 1972). In 1972 in rural areas of the Lithuanian S.S.R. a large-scale time budget study of rural dwellers was conducted. In 1973-74 the similar work was done at the All-Union Research Institute of Farm Equipment, Institute for Sociological Studies of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and Political Economy Department of the Don Agricultural Institute (Patrushev, 1974b). Fairly large time budget studies of rural population

(chiefly, cooperative farmers) were carried out in the 60s in Bulgaria, Poland, Szechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania. In the 20s plethora of data about farmers' time utilization were accumulated in the U.S.A.(Kolpakov and Patrushev, eds., 1971; Hanke, 1965; Strzeszewski, 1961).

The number of surveys is thus enough for comparison. The differences of objects, time periods and procedures, however, impose certain restraints on this comparison. One should keep in mind the substantial differentiation of time budgets, first, of different social groups in rural population (collective or state farmers, those ouside of public economy) and, second, of rural groups in different regions of the country (especially so in labour-excessive and labour-deficient ones). Moreover, mean values obtained through processing data from different surveys are not quite comparable because of various errors (Morgenshtern, 1968). In the present study all comparable figures on time budgets are reduced to possible comparable kind. In order to remove differences in the sample of respondents the indicators characterizing time utilization by collective farmers in 1934 have been reestimated for adult population (16 years and older) since in most of other studies students were not included in samples.

Time expenditures on individual activities from all studies (Strumilin, 1924; Uriashson and Heinman, eds., 1935; Bolgov and Smolentsev, 1970; Baranov, ed., 1972) were joined into 7 groups[1] on G.A. Prudensky's basis (Prudensky, 1965) with an additional section "Time of Work in Private Household".

The available data make it possible to trace changes in time expenditures with enough reliability just on the

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1 Work in public sector; time associated with the work in public sector; work in private economy; housework; time for physiological needs; free time; other time expenditures.

condensed activities as differences in procedures show themselves more when comparing specific activities[1]. This paper will give analysis to the following indicators:

1) total work load on a rural inhabitant, dynamics in work load differentiation - among men and women; work distribution between public sector, private economy and housework; seasonal character of work load of rural people, of men and women among them;

2) free time amount, its dynamics;

3) free time structure of rural people in comparison to urbanites.

2. Changes in Work Load

Average working hours of a farm worker are determined by economic needs of society for farm products, by the level of productive forces and the nature of productive relations. Working time being a crucial component of the time budget, characterizes also the standard of living of farmers. In the beginning of the XX century farm workers worked 15-16 hours a day. Farm labourers in landlord's estates in the Kherson province, as well as hires of market-gardeners in the Pskov province worked 17-18 hours, labourers on tobacco plantations in the Kuban province, 19-20 hours (Heinman, 1936:131). After the Revolution a process of intensive reduction in working hours began: for individual farmers they were on the average (including holidays) in summer 10.4 hours for men and 7.5 hours for women; farm labourers hired by individual peasants in the summer of 1926 worked as long as 12.2 hours (Baikova et al., 1965:227). Lesser working hours among individual peasants were entailed by agrarian overpopulation which remained

1 The calculation of frequent errors (on time budget data obtained in Pskov, 1965, and Krasnoyarsk, 1963) has shown that at the first level including 100 items of time budgets (activities), mean errors reach sometimes 45-60% of their value, and at the third level including 5 sections of time budget they do not exceed 7.5%.

from pre-revolutionary Russia. Only as a result of socialist industrialization and socialization of poor and middle farms unemployment and concomitant poverty have been abolished for ever[1].

Socialist reconstruction of farming on the basis of its mechanization has required socialization of producer goods from individual peasants, transformation of private into collective ownership, but while doing this some producer goods were left with peasants as their personal property. The emergence of private households was entailed by a relatively low level of socialization of farming allowing peasant's employment both on a collective farm and on his private household plot. In 1934 after farming socialization had been completed summer working hours of collective farmers, with due recognition of time expenditures on private economy, were 10.3 hours for men and 8.0 hours for women. The total working load of rural population in productive ages (in all three types of economy, i.e. public, private and housework) was on the average for 1 day of a year 9.4 hours for men and 11.0 hours for women while working hours in public economy were 8.3 and 3.9, respectively (Table 1).

The finding on time budget studies of rural population over several years[2], as well as evidence by V.D. Patrushev

1 In the early 1930s there was a necessity to employ over 19 million persons released from agriculture (Bulochnikova et al., eds., 1973:97).

2 For comparison basically only the findings of studies covering winter and summer were taken in order to get mean annual characteristics. To a comparable form time budget indicators contained in Strumilin, 1924; Uriashson and Heinman, eds., 1935:373-388; Baikova et al., 1965:204-269; Bolgov and Smolentsev, 1970:164-185; Baranov, ed., 1972:50 were reduced, as well as some evidence from the time budget study of the rural areas of the Lithuanian S.S.R. conducted in 1972 at the Institute of Economics of the Lithuanian S.S.R. under the direction of the Candidate of Geography P. Englite, and from the Moscow province conducted by the All-Union Research Institute of Agricultural Equipment in 1971 under the direction of the Candidate of History Yu.D. Karpov. Tables 1-3 are based on these data.

Table 1

Working hours in public economy, private economy and housework of population in working ages for 1 day on the average (hours)

	Peasants of the Voronezh guberniа* 1923		Collective farmers of 9 provinces of the U.S.S.R. 1934		Rural inhabitants of the Lithuanian S.S.R. 1972		State farmers of the Moscow province 1971	
	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women
In winter	4.9	11.9	8.3	9.7	8.3	10.0	no data	
In summer	13.6	14.8	10.5	12.2	9.2	11.4	no data	
On the average for 1 day of a year, including:	7.8	11.9	9.4	11.0	8.7	10.7	8.3	10.1
1. Work in public sector	6.8**	5.8**	8.3	3.9	6.6	6.2	7.1	6.4
2. Work in private economy			0.7	2.4	0.7	1.3	0.3	0.2
3. Work in house keeping	1.0	6.1	0.4	4.7	1.4	3.2	0.9	3.5

* Working hours for the summer and winter of 1923 are given only for a week day, and on the average for a year, including holidays.

** Work on one's own farm and on hire.

from studies of budgets of incomes and expenditures of collective farmers (Patrushev, 1974b:48-54) permit us to conclude that the aggregate working time of gainfully employed collective farmers in public and private economy for 1 day on the average is steadily declining both among males and females[1].

Mass involvement of women into public production and their higher load in private households and in house keeping lead to that working hours for women collective farmers are still more than for men though on the whole part of working load has been redistributed from women to men. In 1971 in the central part of the U.S.S.R. a male state farmer worked on the average 0.5 hour less than a peasant in 1923, and female, nearly 2 hours less.

Most essential shifts in this field occurred in the 1930s as a result of farming socialization when work load difference between men and women dropped to two fifths that in 1923. After that work load of men was decreasing slightly quicker than of women, and as a consequence the inequality between them in time utilization has remained. Working load among males was declining basically owing to their employment in public production. Reversely, the main factor decreasing women's working load was the reduction in time expenditures on private household and house keeping from 7.1 hours in 1934 down to 4.5 hours in 1972[2] (Table 1). In the future wiping out differentials in time utilization between men and women and equal opportunities for personality developing will be achieved , first, through overall

1 According to Patrushev's data, the aggregate working time in public and private economy on the average for 1 day of the year declined during the period 1952-1972 down 0.8 for men and 0.4 for women (the author's calculation)

2 In private households and house keeping there is sex differentiation. In collective farmers' households women are mainly engaged in work in orchards and kitchen gardens, in looking after animals and poultry, cooking, and men perform different duties on erection and repairs of farm buildings and implements, store up timber, bring water.

reduction of work expenditures on private economy and house keeping and, second, through more active participation of men in these pursuits. The effectiveness of work expenditures on national scales can be raised through work redistribution from private economy and house keeping to public production sector.

In the total structure of work expenditures of rural population over the period under consideration favourable changes have occurred: public sector in 1971-1972 accounted nearly for 70% of the total work time against 60% in 1934. Work expenditures on private economy have become about three fifths and in house keeping they have decreased only slightly. In comparison to 1923, however, the time spent on house keeping has declined both absolutely and relatively (Tables 1 and 2).

Table 2

Total work load structure of rural worker for 1 average day in the year (%)

	Peasants of the Voronezh gubernia	Collective farmers of 9 provinces in the U.S.S.R.	Rural inhabitants of the Lithuanian S.S.R.	State farmers of a state farm in the Moscow province
	1923	1934	1972	1971
Work load	100	100	100	100
including:				
Work in public sector	64.0*	59.8	66.0	73.4
Work in private sector		15.2	10.3	2.7
Work in house keeping	36.0	25.0	23.7	23.9

* Work on one's own household and on hire.

The structure of domestic work has also changed: the relative share of time spent on taking meals has diminished;

women have more time for care of dwelling and men for care of children. Socioeconomic development of the rural society in our country is accompanied by the reduction of relative importance of private economy in gross farm product and in aggregate work expenditures of rural people. In comparison with individual farms, in private household economy more work is spent on animal husbandry, at present it makes about three fourths (Shmeliov, 1971:24,53). This somewhat weakens the curve of seasonal character of plant-growing, timber laying etc.

The seasonal nature of farm work has important social consequences. First, it means underemployment of workers in winter which takes place in some regions of the country and, second, less free time during hard work in public and private economy, impossibility to get vacation in most favourable summer period. In the reduction of seasonal fluctuations in the public sector of farming certain progress was made: while in 1934 working hours for men were 2.5 and for women 3.3 more in summer than in winter, toward 1965-66 the difference between summer and winter was about 1.5 hours for men and women in productive ages, and in 1972 it was less than an hour.

Respectively more uniformity has been achieved also with regard to the total work load of workers (including house keeping). Thus, in 1923 men worked in summer 8.7 hours more than in winter. Toward 1934 this difference fell to 2.2 and in 1972 was about an hour. Among women absolute seasonal fluctuations in work load became a half making in 1972 about 1.5 hours (Table 1). And while in 1934 the seasonal nature of agrarian work was mainly due to working hours in public sector, at present more important has become seasonal fluctuation of work expenditures in private economy.

3. Dynamics in Free Time Utilization

The total work load directly influences the amount and

structure of free time[1]. In order to increase free time it is necessary, on the one hand, to decrease either working hours, or time spent on house keeping and private household, and on the other the work itself creates material basis for increase in free time. The interaction between working and free time is becoming ever closer. Contemporary public production poses the ever increasing demands with regard to workers' skills, ability to acquire new knowledge, and use it in their occupational activity. The higher quality of labour stands out as an independent factor in physical productive forces growth. The labour, however, perfects itself not only during working but now more frequently during free time, labour becomes ever more dependent on the entire system of the activity of man and society.

Free time is necessary for all-round personality developing, for satisfaction of cultural and social needs of man; its amount and structure belong to the goal components of the socialist society development.

In the 1960s the amount of free time of adult farm population was 15-20% greater than in 1934 (Table 3).

Rationality criterion is free time spent on socially important activity in which the personality is formed, developed and expresses itself. Time spent on learning, self-education, public activity, hobbies and athletic activities is important for each individual since this activity facilitates his all-round development and, besides, under the conditions of socialism, is a vital means for raising one's social and financial status. For the society the significance of free time is determined by that the appropriate activity develops the main productive force. Rest and recreation, apart from restoring mental and physical strength , perform a function of information consumption which facilitates cultural growth. Nonwork time is saturated with information due to changes in the time of utilization of its channels, i.e. cinema, radio,

[1] Correlation coefficient between them is (-0.8), calculated on time budget data from Pskov.

Table 3

Free time amount of an adult rural resident for an average annual day (hour)

Time expenditures	Collective farmers of 9 provinces of the U.S.S.R. 1934		Collective farmers of the Moscow, Vinnitsa provinces and Stavropol Krai 1964		Collective farmers of the Mari A.S.S.R. 1965-66		Collective farmers of the Krasnodar Krai 1969 (November)	
	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women
For an average annual day	3.4	2.3	4.2	2.1	4.2	2.6	3.7	2.7
In winter	4.0	2.9	5.6	3.1	4.4	2.7	x	x
In summer	2.9	1.8	2.9	1.1	4.0	2.5	x	x

television, press. On the other hand, time expenditures on idling, religious rituals, various forms of deviant behaviour (drinking and other misbehaviours) are nonrational and do not facilitate developing people's abilities.

In the time budget of a rural dweller time expenditures on idling are decreasing in absolute and relative terms, religious behaviours are practically absent among the majority of rural people. As to time expenditures on learning and reading, in 1970 as compared to 1934 female collective farm workers spent one and a half and males as much. Under the universal spread of television the reduction of overall fund of free time is reflected, first of all, in the disappearance of the most active behaviours (Table 4). At present, the rural resident spends on recreation about 60% of free time, whereas in 1934 this figure was 25-30%. Recreation time has sharply increased due to watching TV programs, films, attending concert halls which takes 55% of free time.

In terms of rural-urban social differences it is very important to get an overall picture of changes in amounts and structure of free time among urbanites and ruralites over several decades (Tables 5, 6).

In the 1920s the free time of the peasant and worker for average annual day differed only by structure: male workers spent more time on public activity, reading, self-education, entertainments than male peasants and half as much on idling and religion. The structure of free time among females was even more different: equal time amounts spent on entertainments, the female workersabout half of their free time used on public activity and self-education and only 8% on idling and religion, while the female peasant, on the contrary, half free time spent on idling and religion and only 3% on public activity. The considerable amount of nonstructured time also evidences to nonrational utilization of free time by peasants.

Comparing these data with the findings of the time budgets studies of rural and urban population conducted

Table 4

Dynamics of free time expenditures among rural adults on different activities (on the average for 1 day in the year)[1]

Activities	Free time expenditures among collective farmers					
	of 9 provinces in the U.S.S.R. in 1934, hours		of the Moscow and Vinnitsa provinces and Stavropol Krai, 1964, in percent to 1934		of the Kalinin province, Krasnodar Krai, November 1970, in percent to 1934	
	men	women	men	women	men	women
1. Public, amateur and athletic activities	0.37	0.10	54.6	69.4	11.8	28.8
2. Learning, self-education, reading	0.74	0.20	106.3	125.0	86.2	151.2
3. Entertainments	0.88	0.67	281.9	164.2	95.4	227.1
4. Other time expenditures	1.43	1.37	no data		34.9	39.9
including idling	1.43	1.37	54.4	35.1	no data	
Total free time	3.42	2.34	125.7	89.7	84.8	102.6

1 The necessity to reduce the data from different studies to a comparable form prevented us from giving a more detailed grouping of free time activities. Data sources are: Uriashson and Heinman, eds., 1935:378-388; Baikova et al., 1965:223-224; Patrushev, 1974a:90.

in the 1960s, we can note the following:

1) the amount of free time is much greater among urban than rural workers;

2) in the 1960s, comparing to 1923, free time of urbanites increased 1.5-2 times and of ruralites, by about 30%;

3) over four decades the free time structure has essen-

Table 5

The structure of free time expenditures among workers and peasants in 1923 (on average annual day)*

Activities	Peasants		Factory workers	
	men	women	men	women
Free time, hours	2.5	1.7	2.4	2.3
Nonstructured time, hours	4.1	1.4	1.6	0.5
Free time structure, %				
1. Public activity and self-education	36.1	3.4	42.8	43.2
2. Entertainments	28.9	45.7	39.1	48.9
3. Idling, religion	35.0	50.9	18.1	7.9
4. Total	100	100	100	100

* Data source: Strumilin, 1924:74

tially changed: the proportion of entertainments, especially for peasants, has increased; among peasants time expenditure on reading has increased four times, thus having approached the corresponding expenditures among urbanites; the proportion of active behaviours has decreased among male peasants;

4) the disparity between urban and rural residents in the proportion of idling proved to be stable.

The increase in time spent on entertainments can be thought of as beneficial since it was engendered by the developments in cinema, television, amateur and professional creative activity. The peculiar feature of rural time budget remains small expenditures on public, amateur and athletic activities which is due to poor organizational and physical equipment of free time.

Time expenditures of farm workers on raising their educational level cannot be held as sufficient, even if we take into account less favourable age structure of ruralites.

Table 6

Free time structure (for average week day) among rural and urban workers[1]

Activities	Workers					
	in collective farms of the Krasnodar Krai, November 1969*		in the town of Rubtsovsk, March 1972		in Pskov, 1965, November**	
	men	women	men	women	men	women
Total free time, hours	3.2	2.2	5.6	3.3	5.0	3.2
in %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Public activity, learning, amateur and athletic activities	2.5	2.8	13.1	9.1	22.6	19.1
Reading	15.8	8.6	18.7	15.1	20.8	18.8
Entertainments	61.0	52.8	56.9	62.9	46.8	50.0
Raising children	5.2	7.8	7.7	9.5	6.5	7.9
Other time expenditures (idling, religion)	15.5[2]	28.0[2]	3.6	3.4	3.3	4.2

1 Data sources of the Table: * Baranov, ed., 1972:50-61, and ** Artiomov and Patrushev, eds., 1973:71-77.

2 Estimate of idling time for rural workers was calculated on the basis of its amount for a week day (Baranov, ed., 1972:61).

Thus, the percentage of males employed in farm and forestry in relation to all employed in national economy is 21.5% , and their share in annual individual time fund is not more than 13.5%. This disparity is characteristic of women also, even more sharply.

* *
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The reduction of working hours, increased free time and favourable structural changes in them are the main trends

in time utilization by rural population in the U.S.S.R. Considerable inequality, however, remains in the amount of free time and in working loading of urban and rural people: taking into consideration work spent on private economy and house keeping the rural worker works on the average 1-1.5 hours more than the urban. Great seasonal fluctuations in the amount and structure of free time are, to a considerable degree, due to the seasonal character of farm work.

The society takes measures providing for the increase in free time available to rural dwellers: the improvement in housing conditions, consumer services, the expansion of shopping and catering facilities network; collective and state farms organize regular assistance in performing laborious tasks in private households.

A more significant is the reduction in differences in free time utilization. The following points can be discerned:

a) quality or content of free time; the acquisition and development of knowledge, habits, interests, needs in appropriate activities; b) physical and financial conditions for free time spending (necessary buildings, places, equipment etc.); c) personnel providing for rational utilization of free time, its professional level; d) organizational conditions (appropriate service facilities, their functions, forms and methods of work).

The future of free time utilization by rural population will depend mostly on physical, organizational, mental conditions under which children and adolescents study, rest and grow. The improvement in the training of teachers and other rural cultural workers, their higher professional skills will be an important means for the improvement of general cultural level of the rural side.

The specific feature of rural places are long distances between centres of human life activity. The availability and location of service facilities predetermine the very presence or absence of particular activities in individual time budgets as well as amount of time spent on them.

To have a complete idea of rural-urban differences in the duration of particular activities and in factors determining these differences, time utilization should be studied in connection with demographic processes, physical and organizational conditions, value systems. According to this, it seems especially important for future research that, first, time budgets of rural and urban population be studied by common procedures, region and time (year, season) and, second, that time budget surveys be integrally included into comprehensive socioeconomic research projects.[1]

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